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The pluralistic, multi-groups nature of the American population demands a realistic treatment of minority groups in the classroom and a sound education in intergroup relations. While the textbook is only one among many educational tools, it is a major one, and particular attention should be given to what American textbooks present, imply, and omit. To investigate the area of textbook presentations, a study was made of 48 leading secondary history and social studies textbooks. The study concentrated on textbook treatment of Jews, American Negroes, and immigrants. In assessing the value of text material, seven criteria were employed -- inclusion, validity, balance, comprehensiveness, concreteness, unity, and realism.

The conclusion of the study was that a majority of the texts still presents a largely white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of history and of the current social scene. Treatment of the Jews continues to suffer from an overemphasis on their ancient past and on the theme of persecution. Few present a varied, realistic picture of Jews in America today or of past and present contributions of Jewish Americans. The Negroes' position in contemporary American society is largely ignored. The achievements of Negro Americans, underlying principles of school desegregation, residential segregation, and scientific information about race deserve greater attention. Finally, immigrants to the United States receive considerable attention in texts, but improved treatment of Asiatic and Spanish-speaking immigrants is needed.

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The treatment of minorities in secondary school textbooks

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

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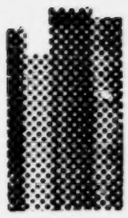

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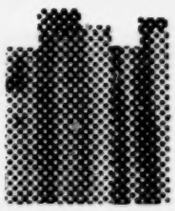

by

Lloyd Marcus, Ed. D.

ADL Research Studies are produced under the direction of Mr. Oscar Cohen, director, program division.

This study, "The Treatment of Minorities in Secondary School Texts," was conducted by Dr. Lloyd Marcus, director, department of research and program development. Miss Gertrude Noar, director, education department, and Mr. Oscar Tarcov, director, publications department, aided in the formulation of this study and in the analysis of its findings.

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Preface

The United States is undergoing a new mood, in preparation for the hazards and uncertainties of the decade of the '60s, with the accent on youth — and the training of youth — to safeguard the future of America's security.

To do justice to this mood, it is more important than ever that the attention of civic leadership be focused on what our children are learning in their classrooms — particularly in the textbooks they are studying.

This country will be handicapped in assuming its leadership responsibilities of the future unless our youth are given a world-perspective and a truly universal outlook on different peoples. Any other course is perilous. One, therefore, must view with apprehension such a phenomenon as the swastika desecrations that swept through the United States early in 1960. Over a short period of time, 650 acts of vandalism were committed principally by teenagers — their conduct seemingly stimulated for the most part by a deep-seated, irrational prejudice against minorities.

This has led many to ask some vital questions. Among them: What are our children learning about minority groups from the textbooks they study?

The textbook is only one among many educational tools — but surely a major one. Our children spend thousands of hours during their school career poring over the words and the pictures of dozens of textbooks. What do they learn during those hours about their fellow Americans who may differ from them in race, creed or national origin? Let us examine the books.

In a study of 48 leading secondary history and social studies textbooks, ADL found that a majority present a largely white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of history and the current social scene. The complex nature and problems of American minority groups are largely neglected or, in a number of cases, distorted.

While we do not believe that the existence of prejudice in young people can be attributed to inadequate textbooks, we do firmly believe that adequate and sensitively written textbooks can help provide the basic material and facts to help teachers and school officials do their full job of educating the young to appreciate, understand and respect the various groups that constitute our American society.

It is the hope of the League that this study will help school personnel, publishers and writers to work more effectively for the fullest education of all of our young people.

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

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OTHER ADL RESEARCH STUDIES

THE TREATMENT OF RELIGION IN ELEMENTARY SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS. Judah Harris. (65¢)

THE SWASTIKA "EPIDEMIC" AND ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA. Oscar Cohen. (25¢)

SWASTIKA 1960: *The Epidemic of Anti-Semitic Vandalism in America.* David Caplovitz and Candace Rogers. (75¢)

THE 1960 SWASTIKA SMEARINGS: *Analysis of the Apprehended Youth.* Martin Deutsch. (25¢)

WHAT HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS SAY: *A Survey of Attitudes and Knowledge About Jews and Nazism.* (35¢)

CHRISTMAS IN THE LIFE OF A JEWISH TEENAGER. Irving Canter. (25¢)

"PRIVACY" AND PREJUDICE: *A Survey of Religious Discrimination in Social Clubs.* ADL Staff. (25¢)

SMALL-TOWN JEWS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS. Peter Rose. (25¢)

CLINTON, TENNESSEE: *School Desegregation Crisis.* Anna Holden, Bonita Valien, Preston Valien and Francis Manis. (25¢)

DALLAS, TEXAS: *Factors Affecting School Desegregation.* William Carmack and Theodore Freedman. (50¢)

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF TEXAS. Earl Humble. (40¢)

RESEARCH BULLETIN ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS. Society for the Study of Social Problems, Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues in Cooperation and the Anti-Defamation League. ($1.50)

AN INVENTORY AND APPRAISAL OF RESEARCH ON AMERICAN ANTI-SEMITISM. Melvin M. Tumin. ($4.00—hard cover; $2.75—soft cover)

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Introduction

What do current junior and senior high school social studies textbooks tell their readers about Jews? about Nazi persecution of minorities? about American Negroes? about immigrants? Answers to these questions were never more vital. The pluralistic, multi-group nature of our country's population demands a realistic treatment in school classrooms. The double threat of totalitarianism from abroad and of racism from within increases the need to give our children a sound education in intergroup relations.

Admittedly, textbooks alone are not sufficient. But as the most universally used teaching tool, what they say, what they imply, and what they omit is important. A classic, comprehensive study of the problem, entitled *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials,* was published in 1949 by the American Council on Education. Three hundred and fifteen textbooks and related materials were analyzed over a four-year period by the Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations, a ten-man staff headed by Dr. Howard E. Wilson, now Dean of the School of Education of the University of California. In view of the largely negative criticisms published by that Committee, an evaluation of the progress of eleven years appeared important. In addition, renewed interest in what American youth know about Nazi persecution and other areas of intergroup relations made the need for comparative findings of a similar analysis apparent.

METHODOLOGY OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The 48 social studies textbooks chosen for this study are the ones most widely used in secondary schools (according to both the Executive Secretary of the National Council for the Social Studies and administrators of the public school systems of six major cities, located in every region of the United States). The books were equally divided among the following subject-matter areas: 16 are American histories, 16 are world histories, and 16 deal with America's social, economic, and political problems. In this last category are eight senior high "problems of American democracy" texts and eight junior high "civics" texts. Half of the books in each category are intended for senior high school classes with

the remaining half designed for use in the junior high school. The books used in this study are listed in the appendix, alphabetically by author and according to area.

The study was subdivided, by topic, in the following manner:

Section I: Textbook Treatment of the Jews — Although the primary concern of the present report is with textbook material bearing on intergroup relations in the United States, this section is not limited to the topic of Jews in America. On the contrary, textbook presentations of the ancient Hebrews, of the Crucifixion story, of Jews in the Middle Ages, and of twentieth-century Palestine and Israel are believed to have a potential impact on the image of his Jewish compatriots that the teen-age student has and may acquire. Because of the breadth and complexity of the subject, all 48 textbooks were studied in determining the findings reported here.

Section II: Textbook Treatment of Minorities Under Nazism — This subject is seen to be highly relevant to the intergroup understandings needed by America's school-age population. Hitler's unprecedented brutality to Jews, Catholics, Poles, and other peoples, provides an historical object lesson to the growing generation. Within a world of diverse peoples, it is essential that young citizens know what has happened when intergroup hostilities have been cultivated and exploited to the ultimate degree. Textbooks have a definite role to play in assuring that those whose parents fought totalitarian aggression in World War II do not grow up in ignorance of the consequences of racism as an ideology, the swastika as a symbol of Hitlerian terror, and the evolution and full horror of genocide. These aspects of Germany's Third Reich have an important bearing on education for citizenship in an interreligious, interracial America. Again, the complexity and significance of the subject warranted close study of all 48 textbooks.

Section III: Textbook Treatment of American Negroes — The leading racial minority in the United States provides the third subject of this study of textbook presentation of intergroup relations. This section includes not only the current status of American Negroes, as recounted to textbook readers, but also the Negroes' historical image, the nature of racial groupings, and the appearance or absence of interracial illustrations in texts. A random selection of one half of the 48 books (eight American histories, eight world histories, and eight social-problem texts, equally divided between the junior and senior high level in each subject-matter category) provided sufficient material for this section.

Section IV: Textbook Treatment of Immigrants — The extent to which textbooks deal with the United States as a pluralistic nation be-

comes most apparent in the presentation of immigrant and migrant groups. Material dealing with the "new" (Southern and Eastern European) immigrants of the post-1880 era, with legal restrictions on entry of additional persons into this country, with Asiatic minorities in the United States, and with Spanish-speaking peoples within our population has been analyzed for this section. The same 24 books studied for Section III were used again.

EVALUATIVE CRITERIA

In assessing the value of text material, the seven following "yardsticks" have been consistently employed. Applied similarly to each section of this study, the criteria are referred to by the key words designated below for easy identification.

1. *Inclusion* — Information about Nazi persecution, Negroes, Jews or immigrant groups and their descendants should be incorporated into all relevant portions of the respective texts.

2. *Validity* — Accurate statements should clearly present the pertinent information; they should never be misleading or ambiguous.

3. *Balance* — All aspects of the subject — both negative and positive — should be given reasonable attention; overemphasis on any one aspect to the neglect of another should be avoided to prevent distorted impressions.

4. *Comprehensiveness* — The range of human characteristics should be described in reference to all and any group so as to eliminate the danger of stereotyping according to race, religion, or national origin or ancestry. Such matters as cultural assimilation and diverse factors affecting groups should be included where relevant.

5. *Concreteness* — The material should be primarily factual and objective. Generalizations, editorialization and platitudes should be avoided.

6. *Unity* — Information about each group that is concerned, at any one time and place, should be sufficiently concentrated to be meaningful, rather than fragmented into scattered passing references.

7. *Realism* — Social evils, such as Nazi genocide of minorities and restrictive immigration, and unsolved problems, including prejudice and discrimination, should receive frank treatment, rather than being defended, minimized, or ignored.

Textbook presentations in each section were measured against these criteria and judged, accordingly, as to their adequacy or inadequacy in

certain areas. For each of the four topics, the material contained in individual textbooks ranges all the way from that which is accurate, reasonably complete, and constructive to that which is misleading, one-sided, and prejudicial. Within this latter range are many books which ignore a given topic entirely. On the whole, there has been marked, if uneven improvement, in textbook treatment of intergroup relations since 1949. Nevertheless, the following pages reveal that, regardless of how inspired its treatment of any one subject, no one textbook has been found which by itself presents a reasonably complete and undistorted picture of the many minority groups in this nation — their characteristics, their progress, and their problems. The unsuitability of any one textbook as the source of intergroup knowledge for a social studies class prompts these observations:

1. In specific areas of concern, a large number of America's most widely used social studies textbooks have startling omissions and other gross inadequacies. Thus, the danger of relying on texts — and especially on one rather than several texts — as the sole form of instructional material becomes evident.

2. Development of critical thinking requires the gathering and analysis of all pertinent facts for relative validity in order that sound conclusions may be drawn. Development of competence for participation in a democratic society demands balanced, rounded knowledge of the nature of the people and their problems in a pluralistic nation, as well as an understanding of, and dedication to, the principles set forth in the Bill of Rights. No one text can achieve these ends; many books and many other printed and audio-visual materials are needed.

Although some quantitative data are presented in this report, it was considered essential to have the textbooks speak for themselves on each successive topic. The passages selected show varying approaches — some inadequate and others both competent and creative — to the subjects of this report. It is hoped that this report will encourage school personnel to demand, and textbook publishers and authors to supply in far larger number, social studies texts that:

1. Present a pluralistic — rather than a 100% white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon — view of history and of the current social scene.
2. Portray minority groups not as "out-groups" — strange, different and isolated — but sympathetically and in depth as valuable, dynamic, contributing elements in our culture.
3. Deal frankly with past and current barriers to full equality in citizenship and to constructive intergroup relations, and with ongoing attempts to achieve both civil and human rights for all.

I. Textbook Treatment of the Jews

"Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials," the 1949 Report of the A.C.E.'s Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations, revealed that in the textbooks included, the characteristics, history and problems of Jews were inadequately presented. In particular, the Committee found that:

A. Material about Jews dealt mainly with the period before A.D. 79. Students received the impression that little had happened to Jews and Judaism since then and that today's Jews were, in fact, a remnant of a past civilization.

B. The Crucifixion story was presented so sketchily that anti-Jewish feelings of pupils could be reinforced.

C. Material on Jews in medieval and modern Europe was inadequate and dealt mostly with persecution, not with contributions or with constructive relationships with other people.

D. Inaccurate material on American Jews was presented. There was little done to show the many differences among Jewish subgroups and individuals in the United States. Common stereotypes of Jews were not challenged by reality.

E. Jews were sometimes referred to as a "race."

With the exception of the last item, these same criticisms hold true for many of the secondary school social studies textbooks used throughout the United States in 1960. However, within this eleven-year period, there have been some constructive changes in the portrayal of Jews in history and in contemporary life. Both the continuing deficiencies and the promising new departures in textbook presentations of the Jews are summarized within the framework of the 1949 criticisms. Pertinent selections from the textbooks studied illustrate the findings.

A. *The Jews as a Remnant of a Past Civilization*

World history textbooks continue to give much more space to the ancient Hebrews than to later Jewish history. In two of these texts, the Jews of both yesterday and today are portrayed as "the Hebrews" — apparently an unchanged and unchanging entity:

1) "Throughout the centuries the Hebrews have kept their identity though they had neither homeland nor national existence for many centuries."

2) "The great duty of all Hebrews has been to obey the law of the God Jehovah, which states what is right and wrong — their moral code. Their duty has also been to obey the commandments about living together as a tribal people."

To the extent that each of these presentations conveys the image of a separate, ingrown, static people, it lacks *validity, balance,* and *comprehensiveness,* as defined in this study.

While fewer than half of the 16 world histories link the traditions of ancient Judaism to modern times or to the moral values of democracy, how effectively this relationship can be personalized for the student is demonstrated by the following examples:

1) "Your standards of right and wrong have been developed largely from the ideals of the Hebrews and the Christians. The Ten Commandments of the Hebrew Old Testament have been written into the laws under which you live. And the ancient Christian teaching to 'love thy neighbor as thyself' expresses an ideal that is very much alive in your world . . . [The Hebrews] believed that there is one God of the whole universe, and that belief has become a part of our own culture."

2) "More than two thousand years ago, the great Hebrew religious leaders were teaching that the individual was of supreme importance. The Jewish religion helped spread a system of moral law among mankind. The Ten Commandments of Moses are one example of an early code by which people lived. These religious ideas have contributed to our ideas of liberty and of the general welfare."

3) "Let us remember that the Old Testament is the Jewish Bible (Torah) as well as part of the Christian Bible. In the Old Testament is that wonderful rule of life, 'What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.' "

A text devoted to the problems of American democracy quotes a prize-winning essay for the Junior Chamber of Commerce Voice of Democracy Contest written by Avron Joseph Maletzky, a high-school boy from Schenectady, New York: "The theme of democracy . . . goes back to the Hebrews with their theories of divine justice; to the early Christians with their ideal of brotherhood . . ."

Several world history texts identify Jesus and many of his disciples as Jews. The following selection is typical of this approach: "The Hebrews also gave Christianity to the world through the life and teachings of Jesus."

Acknowledgment of the Judaeo-Christian heritage and the legacy of ethical and democratic values from the Hebrew people contributes to better intergroup understanding.

B. *Accounts of the Crucifixion*

The 1949 report of the American Council on Education warned: "When textbooks state or imply that all Jews wished to have Jesus put to death, that all Jews strove to accomplish that purpose, and that the killing of Jesus was actually committed by Jews, there is clearly need for the exercise of greater care in both scholarship and writing. Some text accounts do one or all of these things. The recurrent use in a number of texts of the inclusive term 'the Jews' without qualification would seem almost inexcusable . . ."[1]

Twelve books were found to deal with the Crucifixion; in four of these, Jews and Jewish leaders, in particular, are implicated:

1) Jesus' teachings "displeased the conservative, priestly class of Jews." However, on his refusal to be a political messiah, "the mass of Jewish people turned against Him and supported the priestly caste. They denounced Him to the Romans, saying that He planned to make Himself King of the Jews. He was tried as a rebel by the Roman government, condemned, and executed by Crucifixion."

2) Many people, "especially Jewish leaders," looked on Jesus as a "religious troublemaker who failed to uphold the ancient Hebrew faith." This account states that "Jewish leaders" turned Jesus over to Pontius Pilate, who permitted him to be put to death by crucifixion.

3) Jesus' teachings "were opposed by the Pharisees, the sect known as the teachers of the Jewish people. This opposition finally terminated in His betrayal by Judas, one of the Apostles . . . Jesus went to trial before the Jewish Council, the Sanhedrin, which sentenced Him to death . . ." The Roman governor, Pilate gave his consent reluctantly: "It is recorded that Pilate wished to release Jesus and to remain 'innocent of the blood of

[1] Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials in Intergroup Relations, *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education. 1949. p. 155.

this just man,' but he yielded to the clamors of the rabble and delivered Christ up to His enemies," whereupon "they nailed Him to a cross . . ."

4) "Many patriotic Jews" turned against Jesus, and because "all did not believe in him" as the Messiah, Jesus was charged with blasphemy and brought before Pilate as king of the Jews and condemned to death, by Pilate, by means of crucifixion.

In each of these accounts, there is some question of *validity;* all four are misleading and easily subject to misinterpretation. Clearly, they also fall short of our criteria of *balance* and *comprehensiveness.*

Four other texts avoid introducing the Jews in this connection. Two attribute the incidents leading to the Crucifixion to "His enemies," one to "His countrymen," and one to "certain men." The other four books that mention the story omit any references to the responsibility of Romans and Jews; they settle for the fact that Jesus was crucified.

Specialists in intergroup relations have long contended that world history texts could do much to counteract the "Christ-killer" concept in anti-Semitism by including fuller, more factual presentations of the events leading to the Crucifixion, with particular attention to forces at work throughout the Holy Land at that time which led many people to desire the removal of any "messiah." No textbook was found which provides such a rounded, comprehensive account.

C. *Jews in the Old World: A History of Persecution*

In writing of the Jews in Europe between the Crucifixion and the rise of Hitler, several authors still place sole emphasis on persecution, isolation, and exile. Others balance the picture with some mention of skills and contributions. Illustrative of the former approach are these accounts:

1) "Undoubtedly it was this [moneylending as a business], together with their denial of the divinity of Christ, that had much to do with their unpopularity in the Middle Ages and caused them to be ill treated by the Christians . . . The persecution of the Jews did not begin until the thirteenth century, when they were made to wear a cap or badge to distinguish them from others. Later they were sometimes required to live in a special quarter of a city, called the ghetto, or Jewry."

2) "Jews, however, saw nothing wrong in doing so [lending money for interest], and thus they became the first great money-lenders of Europe. This was one reason why they were unpopular and

were often persecuted in Christian communities. Kings sometimes tried to protect Jews against violence, partly, no doubt, because they might sometime be a source of obtaining money for a king who was hard up. Often, however, kings felt obliged to join their people in persecuting the Jews."

In contrast, two other world histories achieve a greater measure of *comprehensiveness* and *balance:*

1) "Leaving Palestine [at the time of the Crusades], many Jewish people migrated westward and established themselves in various European countries. The Jews did not often intermarry with native peoples. They tended to live in their own communities. Their skills in trade, commerce, and barter were highly developed . . . In spite of persecution and mistreatment, the Jews produced many gifted leaders in business, finance, science, philosophy, and other fields."

2) "In the Middle Ages there were Jews scattered in small groups all over Western Europe. Because the Christians made it hard for them to own land, they lived in the towns and cities. They were merchants, money-lenders, doctors, teachers, and scholars . . . They had their own ways of living and their own religion . . . Some [kings] tried peacefully to persuade the Jews to become Christians. Others persecuted the Jews . . . The Jews held staunchly to their faith."

In the period under discussion, the Jews are most frequently mentioned in connection with exile from Spain in the 15th century. Five of the seven texts including this event portray the Spanish Jews in a positive light and point out what Spain suffered in losing these citizens. One states that 16th-century Spain lagged behind the rest of Europe industrially "partly because the Moors and Jews had been driven out." Another says the Moors, heretics, and Jews driven out of Spain were "some of her most active and brightest citizens." A third refers to the Jews and Moslems expelled as Spain's "best merchants and manufacturers." Yet another says these two groups "made up the industrial and commercial middle class," and thus their absence weakened Spain. The fifth finds the loss of these men of business, crafts, medicine, and learning "a heavy blow to civilization in Spain and Portugal. It retarded their development many years."

Then not until the establishment of the state of Israel do these texts give a picture of what Jews were like, what vocations were theirs, and what contributions they made. Instead there are only the briefest, most

scattered mentions relating to increasing political rights in 18th century France and England and to maltreatment in 18th century Poland and 19th and 20th century Russia. In terms of the established criterion of *unity,* each world history text leaves much to be desired.

Post World War II . . . Establishment of Israel — Of the 16 world histories examined, all 15 that cover the modern period devote some space to 20th century Palestine and to Israel. In terms of our evaluative criteria, eight of these accounts are fully satisfactory. Four others lack either *concreteness* or *unity* or both; that is, each has too little factual information, presented in a cohesive manner, to have an impact on the reader's conception of Israel and the Israelis. The remaining three fall short on the criterion of *balance*. This group links Jews to lawless violence without explaining the provocations for this behavior or the fact that the remainder of the Jewish population was not involved in these actions. Two of these texts give an account of the assassination of Count Bernadotte by "Jewish terrorists." The third states that after the restriction of Jewish immigration to Palestine in 1939, "groups of extremists among the Jews started using bombs and other means of making things unpleasant for the British." In this presentation, Britons in Palestine are portrayed as victims; Jews are not.

Many of the books have constructive treatments of Israel and the Jews. For example, in a two-page presentation Israelis are portrayed as an "energetic people" who have made "remarkable progress" in their homeland. Arab opposition to Jewish settlement is explained in terms of hostility to Western imperialism. A photograph shows a tractor at work helping to build a new town. Another book highlights the early cooperation between the Jews and Christian Arabs in a four-paragraph account of modern Palestine and Israel. The effect of Nazi persecutions in increasing Zionism and Jewish immigration to Palestine is discussed. Jews are praised for their efforts to build a modern country in an economically backward and barren land. Still another text gives this presentation:

> "Jewish immigration was steady but not heavy until the Nazi persecution of the Jews made millions homeless, many of whom tried to settle in Palestine . . . The Jews, because they were skilled, energetic, and received much help from the Western world, prospered."

In other texts there is implied praise of the Israelis' military prowess in defending their homeland against attack. One lists Palestinian Jews among the nationalities in United Nations armies that helped defeat Nazi Germany. In positive textual settings, with helpful captions, one

book shows a photograph of a newly-built bus depot in Israel; another has pictures both of the Israeli flag being raised for the first time at the United Nations and of Ben-Gurion talking with Ralph Bunche; a third shows Truman receiving a Torah from Chaim Weizmann.

In the foregoing ways authors and publishers of world histories have helped give their readers the impression that Jews are not a withered remnant of a glorious past nor merely the victims of purges and pogroms. Instead, the image is formed of an on-going nationality, making worthwhile contributions to modern life.

D. *Jewish Life in America*

The criterion of *inclusion* delineated the necessity for information about Jews, as well as other ethnic groups, in all relevant sections of the textbook. Many American history and social problems texts do not meet this standard. Although all 16 American histories that were examined do mention Jews, only one discusses the Jews of contemporary America. Of the eight which mention Jews in colonial times, only three devote more than a sentence to the subject. Seven of the 16 specify that Jews were among the immigrants to the United States, but only three tell anything about these Jewish immigrants. Five name Jews who have made contributions to American life; three of these name only one such leader. The three references to hatred against or attacks on Jews — two relate to the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's, one is to Bundists in the 1930's — are entirely perfunctory.

American-problems and civics texts do little better on this subject. One of the 16 makes no reference to Jews whatsoever, even in a passage that deals with Nazi concentration camps! Six have purely incidental references to Jews (as one of three main religious groups in the United States, as Israelis, or as early American colonists) without elaboration. Only three of the nine remaining texts discuss Jews in America today.

Explanation of the religious beliefs of modern American Jews is absent from most of the texts. These are the exceptions: (1) a social-problems text mentions the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform grouping; (2) an American history text presents a photograph of the blowing of the shofar with a caption about the Jewish New Year; and (3) a social-problems text has a similar illustration and caption, plus a page explaining the Golden Rule in Judaism and its counterpart in other living world religions; there is also an exercise that refers the student to Fitch's *One God* for an explanation of Jewish religious holiday celebrations. For the most part, then, it appears that textbooks make no attempt to build interreligious understanding through an explanation of the beliefs and forms of Judaism as a contemporary American religion.

The evaluative criterion of *comprehensiveness* is applied to the topic of Americans of Jewish faith by the 1949 American Council on Education study in these words: "There are about five million Jews in the American population. They are widely distributed in occupation, ability, economic status, and geographical location. So great is the variation among them that there is no typical Jew; that cardinal fact should be emphasized again and again . . ."[2] Although a half dozen books present the diversity among members of the group, the following passages are representative of the kind of treatment which reinforces a stereotype of the clannish Jew with persisting, unacceptable traits:

1) Speaking of "the small islands of foreign culture on our soil," a social-problems text says:

   "Another cultural minority group, the Jews, present a similar yet different problem. Jews had no country of their own for centuries. Through migrations they have become inhabitants of many countries — Russia, Poland, Germany, France, and Spain, to name but a few. Usually their loyalties are identified with the nation of which they are a part. Characteristics which have survived down through the centuries and are due not primarily to their nationality but their religion and culture may persist and complicate their full acceptance into other cultures. Prejudice has often forced Jews to form communities of their own, in which their cultural differences become more emphasized and more persistent than might otherwise be the case. This problem, which must be frankly faced, along with the other racial and cultural issues of all foreign groups, helps to keep America from the full attainment of its ideal of complete democracy."

2) An American history contains only this description of Jews among other southern and eastern European immigrants to the United States:

   ". . . most of the new immigrants flocked to industrial jobs in large cities. They accepted work at low pay. Within the cities they collected into little national groups, clinging to the language and customs of the countries from which they had come. Native-born Americans were suspicious of the immigrants' strange customs."

What is questioned here is not the good intentions of the authors nor even how well or how poorly they regard American Jews. The problem lies with the lack of *comprehensiveness*. In each case uniform traits

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 99

are ascribed to the entire group. In the first example these are unspecified, persisting characteristics which are likely to be unacceptable to others and unspecified cultural differences which are said to become more pronounced and resistant to change. In the second, Jewish immigrants appear to choose segregated living for the purpose of "clinging" to a way of life that native Americans find "strange." (Nor does the book offset this stereotype with a later account of full participation of Jews in American life.) Missing from the descriptions is any hint of the true diversity — economic, social, political, geographic, intellectual, and even religious — of the millions of Americans of Jewish faith or descent.

How can this false, monistic image of "the Jew" be avoided? How can textbooks counteract whatever stereotypes of Jews exist in the minds of their young readers? And how can a more varied and, hence, more valid picture of American Jews be conveyed? Some answers are embodied in a few widely-used American histories and social-problems texts included in this study.

One history text effectively quotes the following excerpts from *One America* (Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, editors):

> "The Jews as a group by no means form a . . . unique segment of the American population . . . Their callings are as diverse as those of their fellow Americans. There are rich Jews, just as there are rich non-Jews. And there are just as many poor Jews, relatively, as there are poor non-Jews. Far from being a homogeneous [uniform] group, the American Jews are . . . individuals among whom one can find conservatives as well as progressives, Republicans as well as Democrats, employers as well as employees, shopkeepers as well as factory workers. In their opinions, attitudes, and political leanings they differ as much among themselves as do Americans in general."

Another strong presentation of the diversity among American Jews occupies three pages in a 1953 edition of a high-school problems-of-democracy textbook. The reader sits in on an informal, after-class discussion on the part of four students and a teacher. One by one, the youngsters ask about stereotypes of Jews: Are they unduly aggressive? Do they dominate and control the business world? Do they aim to take over America? Their misconceptions are countered effectively as the students are exposed to extensive quotations from *Fortune* magazine on Jews as wage-earners and ordinary businessmen, and from Philip Wylie on the part individual Jews play in such varied fields as entertainment, sciences, and the clothing industry. In the end, the fictional discussants decry past persecution of the Jews and current discrimination against

them. (This is replaced in the 1960 edition by a straight-forward narrative covering most of the same points.)

A more voluminous, if less dramatic treatment appears in a 26-page chapter entitled "Racial, Ethnic, and Religious Groups" in another high school social-problems text. Jews are among several minority groups discussed in terms of discrimination in jobs, housing, higher education, fraternities and other social groups, and immigration. The inadequacy of minority-group treatment in textbooks, as revealed by the 1949 American Council on Education study, is also reported. In the middle of the chapter, a page and a half is devoted to Jews as a religious group; mention is made of the three main religious sub-groups, of several periods of Jewish immigration, of anti-Semitic organizations and their recurring themes. Finally, in a discussion of improving human relations through education, exposure, the law, and social action, the positive programs of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and other organizations is briefly outlined.

Another approach used to portray the true diversity among Jewish Americans is to itemize several different fields in which various members of the group have made their mark. Thus, under the heading, "The Jews in America," a junior high school American history says, in part:

> "Jews have come to our shores all through our history. The first Jews came to the United States before the American Revolution. Some of them sought religious freedom in the colony of Rhode Island. Haym Salomon, a Jewish banker of Philadelphia, raised large sums of money for the government during the Revolutionary War. Jews have come from many countries and live in every state of the Union; most members of Jewish families were born here.
>
> "Jews have been and are well known and successful in many walks of life. We can select but a few to mention — *judges:* Louis D. Brandeis, Benjamin A. Cardozo, Felix Frankfurter (born in Austria), all of whom became members of the Supreme Court of the United States; *medicine:* Morris Fishbein; *musical composer:* Irving Berlin, born in Russia; *movies:* Samuel Goldwyn, a native of Poland; *theatre:* David Belasco; *sports:* Barney Ross in boxing, Hank Greenberg in baseball, Sid Luckman in football."

While the reader may object to the specific representatives named in this excerpt, the author's intent is clear. The same may be said of the problems-of-democracy text that introduces a section entitled "America owes much to its people of 'foreign' stock" with this explanation: "a

knowledge of the racial, religious, or national background of a few persons who are outstanding may emphasize the fact that the strength of the United States is due to the blending of many different kinds of people." The text then states:

> "We should be grateful for the contributions to our common welfare made by outstanding Jews of foreign extraction. We call to mind great judges like Supreme Court Justices Brandeis, Cardozo, and Frankfurter; statesmen and advisers to Presidents like Bernard Baruch, Morgenthau, and Lehman; newspaper publishers like Pulitzer and Ochs; journalists like Lippmann and Lerner; book publishers like Simon and Schuster; physicists like Einstein and Michelson; comedians like Cantor and Benny; motion-picture producers like Goldwyn and Selznick; actors like Muni and Robinson; musicians like Heifetz and Koussevitsky. These and many more have made their presence felt in all walks of life."

Still another way of communicating the fact that Jews, too, are distinct individuals, rather than a uniform mass, is to focus on the contribution or life story of at least one American Jew, identified as such. Three American histories do this by means of an illustrative sketch or photograph, accompanied by one of the following captions:

1) *"Haym Salomon,* a Jew of Philadelphia, gave his fortune to help the American cause."

2) *"Louis Brandeis,* liberal member of the Supreme Court, was one of many Jews who have made lasting contributions to American life."

3) *"Bernard Baruch,* of Jewish descent, has had a long and distinguished career in public service. Called 'elder statesman' because he has advised many Presidents, Baruch chats here with Dwight Eisenhower during the latter's campaign for the Presidency in 1952."

Two texts each devote almost a full page to an appealing biography of an American identified as of Jewish extraction: one American history to Haym Salomon, one world history to Albert Einstein. Perhaps more than the naming of lists of celebrities, these photo captions and biographies may convey the sense of a Jewish person as a real human being, worthy of friendly esteem. *Comprehensiveness, balance,* and *concreteness* are among the goals served by this approach, especially when applied to notable members of several of the ethnic and racial groups that comprise the American population.

E. *Jews As a "Race"*

Textbook writers have generally accepted the fact that Jews are not a race. This marks a dramatic change since the late 1940's when the American Council on Education survey reported that six history texts and seven social-problems texts used the terms "race" and "racial" in connection with the Jews. This was particularly unfortunate, it said, in view of the need to dispel the Nazi concept of a "Jewish race."[3]

None of the 48 books in the present survey falls into this error. In fact, the closest approach is that of one problems-of-democracy text which includes Jews with Slavs, other southeastern Europeans, and Orientals in referring collectively to "peoples of these stocks."

What remains to be done by most of these textbooks, however, is to make explicit the fact that Jews are not a racial group and, beyond that, to explain the nature of races and to identify the races that exist. A small minority of texts (four world histories and one social-problems text) clarify the question of what is race. Only one of these specifically states that there is no such thing as a "Semitic race." Although in dealing with Nazi persecutions, some texts debunk Hitler's myth of a "super race," "master race," or "Aryan race," none specifically dissects his false premise in attacking Jews as racially homogeneous. It would be well for other texts to be as explicit as the following social-problems books which introduce discussion of Jews in America by saying:

1) "The Jewish people do not represent a separate race, like the Negroes, nor a nation like those we have mentioned. But, like many of the immigrants already discussed, they came to America to escape oppression in other lands."

2) "Jews do not belong to any single race. They are usually identified by their religion."

SUMMARY

In comparison with the findings of the 1949 report, treatment of the Jews in the social studies textbooks examined in 1960 has these characteristics:

A. World history texts continue to give considerably more attention to the ancient Hebrews than to later Jewish history. However, many now link that early tradition to modern times and remind the student of his, and democracy's, legacy from Judaism.

B. Textbook accounts of the Crucifixion are still too superficial to be of use in dispelling misconceptions about the role Jews played in the

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 103

death of Jesus. However, very few texts explicitly link the Jews to this event in a manner likely to increase anti-Semitism.

C. The scattered references to Jews in medieval and modern world history still deal largely with persecution and exile. Only a few texts mention the positive attributes and contributions of European Jews, but many discussions of Israel highlight the accomplishments of the Jewish people there.

D. Most textbooks dealing with American history and problems mention Jews only incidentally. A few portray American Jews as a standardized, uniform group, set apart from other Americans. On the other hand, several accounts of Jews in the United States convey a realistic sense of their diverse nature and, thus, of their similarity to other peoples in this nation.

E. Textbooks no longer refer to Jews as a "race."

II. Textbook Treatment of Minorities Under Nazism

The anti-Semitic desecrations that began in Germany on Christmas Eve 1959 and were duplicated in many parts of the United States during the first several months of 1960 led investigators to find again and again that the youthful vandals had little or no knowledge of the human meaning of the Nazi symbols and slogans they employed. As in West Germany, youth in America appear to be ignorant of the nature and consequences of Hitlerism. In view of the staggering price humanity paid for underestimating this danger in the 1930's, the aims, methods, and consequences of Nazism would seem to be one of history's most important lessons — one not to be neglected in American social studies.

Investigators of the outbreak examined school textbooks to see what they contained about Nazi genocide. As a result, strong criticisms of textbook treatment appeared in radio editorials and newspaper articles in New York, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles. An organization of social studies teachers in New York spoke out against the world histories used in the city's high schools. On the other hand, in one city school system, examination of books on this topic revealed several accounts that were deemed satisfactory; that community concluded they had no problem.

The present analysis of 48 high school social studies texts supports the former contention: there is a paucity of forthright material on what Hitler did to millions of minority-group members in Germany and the lands he conquered. Seventeen of the 48 textbooks omit all mention of Nazi persecution. Of the remaining 31, only nine give a reasonably clear presentation of systematic persecution and wholesale extermination. The other 22 minimize or gloss over important aspects of this topic. Although no text gives sympathetic treatment to these acts, the fact remains that too few of the popular texts communicate the essential facts of Nazi atrocities to the student.

What should an adequate text treatment contain? Five aspects of the subject need to receive attention:

1) Hitler's "super race" theory: its source in his personality and background, its scientific invalidity, the political uses to which

he put it, possible reasons for its effectiveness with his audience, why Jews and other minorities proved useful scapegoats.

2) Hitler's method of moving against his announced victims in successive stages: from denunciation to incitement to mob action to economic sanctions to police brutality, concentration-camp confinement, starvation, torture, gas chamber and crematorium extermination.

3) Who the victims were: the predominance of men, women and children believed to be of Jewish descent but also the inclusion of Catholic and Protestant clergy, of political liberals and other opponents, of non-Jewish Poles, Austrians, and others as suited Hitler's designs and whims.

4) The vast numbers of victims: not thousands or hundreds of thousands but millions — specifically including six million Jews.

5) The reaction of the rest of the world to the developing pattern and to the final revelations: the shock, the Nuremberg war-guilt trials, and the United Nations' Genocide Convention.

Measured against the criteria used in this report, only one account can be described as fully satisfactory. However, an additional eight books treat the various aspects of the subject with reasonable adequacy. Six of these are world histories, two are American histories, and one is a problems-of-American-democracy text. Pertinent excerpts from a representative selection of these nine texts graphically underline the misstatements, understatements and flagrant omissions of the remaining 39 accounts.

ADEQUATE ACCOUNTS

The best coverage of the whole topic is found in a world history book. In addition to a five-page section about Hitler's rise to power and Nazi ideology and its methods, including persecution, there are more than a dozen other brief references and reminders of Nazi brutality spread over 75 pages. Discussion of religious freedom in nineteenth-century America gives the authors a chance to contrast it with the fact that "between 1939 and 1945, six million Jews were savagely put to death in Germany by order of dictator Hitler." The section on Hitler's life points out that as a young man "whenever he lost his job, which happened often, he blamed it on Jews and socialists." After discrediting the myth of an Aryan race, the text describes and explains Hitler's political use of anti-Semitism as follows:

"Hitler knew that when hate enters the heart, reason often leaves

the mind, and that an unreasoning people are easily led. That is one reason why he fanned the flames of anti-Semitism. He comforted German nationalists by telling them that Germany had not really lost World War I, but had been sold out by Jews and radicals on the home front. He asserted that German Jews did not belong in Germany because they were not pure Germans. In the same breath he would denounce Jews as communists and capitalists. As dictator, Hitler was to make wider use of the scapegoat technique against Jews than any other ruler in history."

On the following page are details of what the Nazis did to German Jews:

"In Nazi Germany, aged Jews were compelled to scrub streets on their hands and knees while Brown Shirts stood over them with clubs. Jewish-owned shops were boycotted or wrecked. Ultimately most Jews lost all their property. Synagogues were burned to the ground. Jews and Christians with some Jewish blood were barred from the professions and fired from their jobs. Jews lost their citizenship. Many of the world's most famous writers, musicians, and scientists, including Albert Einstein, sought refuge in other lands. By the end of World War II, six million Jews had lost their lives in Nazi-held lands. Many of these were sent to concentration camps. There they were deliberately starved, infected with disease, placed in deadly gas chambers, or burned to death in specially constructed ovens. Some were used as guinea pigs in medical experiments which were more savage than scientific."

The wording "some Jewish blood," with its connotation of a racial rather than a religious or ethnic group, may be unfortunate; however, the remainder of this passage has the double virtue of presenting German Jews as real and gifted people and of being explicit as to how they were murdered. Later passages in the book make clear that Jews were not the only victims of this terror; Christian ministers and priests who resisted Nazism are mentioned, as are members of several political parties. The anti-religious, anti-ethical nature of Nazism is treated. Nazi inhumanity and the multiplicity of victims is reinforced in a later passage on the sequel to the conquest of Poland:

"Hitler had treated the annexed Austrians and Czechoslovakians cruelly, but his treatment of the conquered Poles was savage. Millions of healthy Poles were packed off to Germany to serve as slave laborers. So intense was their suffering that many did not survive. Germans were transplanted to take over the homes of displaced

Poles. Jews and Poles who could not prove useful to the Nazis were confined to a small area where most of them died from extreme hunger, disease or torture."

World condemnation of such brutality is stressed in three further references dealing with the Moscow Conference of 1943, the Nuremberg trials, and the United Nations, respectively. This last passage states:

"Millions of Jews, because of their religion, and millions of Poles, because of their nationality, had been exterminated by the Nazis. This fact prompted the Assembly to adopt a resolution in 1948 condemning as an international crime the mass murder of persons on account of their race, religion, or nationality. Such a crime is called *genocide*."

Clearly, this account of Nazi persecutions covers the five subtopics — racist theory, increasing brutality, diversity of victims, numbers killed, and world reaction. Simultaneously the material meets the seven evaluative criteria enumerated in the Introduction to this report. Four other texts are cited below to further illustrate what constitutes an adequate presentation.

A second world history, which refers to Nazi racism and persecution in six different passages, gets to the heart of the matter in this three-quarter page description:

"In their persecution of the Jews the Nazis reached the depths of inhumanity. Laws deprived the Jews of their rights as citizens, barred them from practically all business, professional, and political occupations, and forced them to pay special taxes. The hatreds which Hitler had so long been fanning burst into flame in the spring of 1933. While the police stood by, anti-Jewish mobs roamed the streets, committing deeds of violence which horrified people throughout the world. During the next five years upwards of half the Jews fled the country; among them were many of the leading scholars and scientists of Germany. In 1938 those who had been unable or unwilling to leave suffered from a new, carefully organized campaign of terror. The excuse was the murder of a minor German official by a young Jew. Hundreds of Jews were killed by mobs and thousands, less fortunate, were herded by police into concentration camps. The policy of Jewish persecution now changed to a policy of extermination. The Gestapo, or secret police, decided who should be put into the concentration camps. It held the power of life or death over those imprisoned. During World War II the prisoners included those from Germany and the conquered countries and

many non-Jewish opponents of the Nazis. They were without sufficient food and had practically no medical care. When this treatment failed to produce death quickly enough, the prisoners were sent to special extermination camps, which operated during the years 1942-44. Usually the Gestapo used gas to kill the victims in the murder factories. It is estimated that six million Jews were slaughtered by the Nazis in concentration camps and elsewhere."

Still another text has five separate references to Nazi anti-Semitism and brutality; a substantial amount of information is concentrated in this rambling section:

"Hitler lost no time in carrying out the anti-Semitic part of his program. Since the Jews were supposedly to blame for all Germany's ills, no one could expect the new government to protect them against the attacks of the storm troopers. Jewish stores were looted; Jews were beaten and killed.

"On May 10, 1933, all books by Jewish authors were ordered burned. Orchestras were no longer permitted to play the music of Mendelssohn and other Jewish composers.

"The Jews were soon attacked by government decrees as well as by violence. At first the measures against them were relatively mild. Step by step the laws increased in severity. Many Jews were sent to the concentration camps which the new government had set up. Jews were forbidden to engage in any profession or trade. At last, during the Second World War, those who were left in Germany and in the occupied countries were herded together like cattle and were sent to special places where they were murdered literally by the millions. Of 9,500,000 European Jews, only 3,500,000 remained at the end of the Second World War.

"In the democracies the news of the events in Germany was received with horror. Hitler was reverting to the barbarism of former times. He was rejecting Christian beliefs in humanitarianism, brotherhood, and democracy. He was serving notice on the world that Germany had its own ideas of right and wrong. What was right, henceforth, was what he thought right for the German state; what was wrong was anyone or anything that opposed him."

Of the two American history textbooks which satisfied our criteria, one had six pertinent passages. Although omitting a sufficiently specific reference to non-Jewish victims, the following excerpts show the useful material that seventh, eighth, and ninth-graders can learn from this source:

"He [Hitler] shouted that a small minority of people, the Jews, were responsible for the hard times that came to Germany after the war. He told the German people that Germans were a 'master race.' "

"A dictator usually blames someone else for the faults of his own nation and government. Throughout the world decent people were shocked when Hitler made outrageous charges against the Jews in Germany and his police arrested thousands of them. The police sent the Jews to huge prison stockades called concentration camps. In these camps vast numbers of people died from slow starvation or torture, or were executed. Before the Nazis were defeated in World War II, they had murdered in one way or another 6,000,000 men, women, and children of the Jewish faith."

"Many Europeans who loved freedom fled from Hitler's and Mussolini's persecutions. The immigrants were called refugees because they sought refuge in the United States . . . The famous scientist Albert Einstein came to the United States in 1933 when scholars and professors were being dismissed in Germany because of their political beliefs or because they were Jewish."

"*War Crime Trials* . . . The armies of the Allies broke in the gates of the great Nazi concentration camps. Within these camps they uncovered evidence of the Nazi campaign to destroy the Jewish people of Germany. A shocked world learned that millions of prisoners had been murdered in these camps . . . high Nazi political and military leaders faced charges of plotting aggression against their peaceful neighbors. They were also charged with crimes against humanity, such crimes as those committed in the concentration camps."

The one social-problems text that appears adequate on this topic contains a photograph of rows of emaciated men in shelf-like bunks, with this caption:

"Victims of Nazi persecution were huddled into concentration camps like this one at Buchenwald. Such persecution of a minority group is one of the first signs of a disintegrating government. We in America must always be on guard against it."

After dealing with anti-Semitism in previous periods of history, this text presents a three-paragraph section entitled *Anti-Semitism in Modern Germany.* These two paragraphs relate the facts; however, the estimated number of lives lost is distressingly low:

"As an instrument of national policy, anti-Semitism in modern

Germany was practiced by the National Socialist party with brutal fury. Its aim was to exterminate completely all German Jews. After the defeat of Germany, pictures and newspaper accounts told the story of inhuman atrocities committed in such concentration camps as Belsen, Dachau, and Buchenwald, where thousands of Jews and other minorities perished. During the fanatical purges conducted by the Nazis, many Jews were killed outright, while several hundred thousand of them were exiled to a small section of Poland to starve.

"Using the Jews as a scapegoat, Hitler blamed them for German woes. The German army, he declared, was not defeated in 1918. Rather it was stabbed in the back by traitors at home, the Marxists (communists), the Socialists, and the Jews. Hitler's charge that the Jews controlled the business of the nation and that they dominated the professions and the cultural life of Germany actually indicates how great a contribution they were making."

INADEQUATE ACCOUNTS

Social-Problems Texts . . . Of 16 social-problems texts, this last brief treatment of the human consequences of Nazism is the best. What do the other fifteen do with the subject? Eleven ignore it completely; nothing about Nazi scapegoating, persecution, or genocide appears, even in those seven that have a passing mention of Hitler. Three others refer to Nazi persecutions as if the student were so familiar with the topic that no details need be given. One of these states only:

"A generation now living knows that thousands of people were killed in gas chambers because they were a minority group in Germany."

Another says merely that in addition to the political and religious refugees who came to America after World War I:

"There was another wave fleeing from the persecution of Nazis and Fascists, and World War II found refugees clamoring to enter the United States."

The third, although more explicit, confines its treatment to these two sentences:

"It [National Socialism] extolled the superiority of the master race of Germans, Nordics, or 'Aryans.' The Nazis subjected the Jewish people to systematic persecution."

Each of these incidental references omits at least three of the five subtopics and falls short on at least five of the seven evaluative criteria employed throughout this study.

The remaining high school text in this grouping deals with the subject at greater length but in a propagandistic, bombastic style:

> "The Nazis showed how a biological myth could be used in their war plans. For many years the Germans had been taught silly ideas about race differences by men such as Friedrich Nietzsche, who raved about the idea of supermen. Hitler became madly obsessed with Nietzsche's racial delusions. He revived ancient German ideas about race prejudice. He bamboozled the Germans into believing they were the 'master race.' He tried to exterminate Jews, Poles, and other non-Germans.
>
> "The world will not easily forget the horrors of the concentration camps of Buchenwald and other evil places. It will not forget the crimes against humanity which Nazi Germany, under the crazy leadership of Hitler, committed in the name of race. Nazi Germany is one of the best examples in history of how a nation used race hatred for the purposes of imperialism."

The substitution of emotionally-charged terms (e.g., "silly," "raved," "obsessed," "delusions," "bamboozled," "crazy") for an objective, forthright presentation of the facts violates the criterion of *concreteness* to a remarkable degree.

American Histories . . . In comparison with the majority of social-problems texts, a higher proportion — 11 out of 16 — of American history texts deals with Nazi persecution. However, with the exception of the two mentioned on pages 28, 29 of this section, these texts settle for brief and superficial statements. For instance, the following quote from the lengthiest treatment shows how vague the story becomes. Moreover, the reader will note that it ends before reaching concentration camps and mass murder.

> "The Nazis were especially bitter in their attacks on the Jews. They claimed that Jews were responsible for Germany's military defeat, for the spread of communism, and for the economic depression that blighted the country.
>
> "*Persecution of the Jews.* When the Nazis came into power, they began an organized persecution of the Jews. There was a boycott of Jewish business firms. Only a limited number of Jews were permitted to enroll in the universities, and organized riots brought death and destruction of property to the Jewish community. The barbaric treatment of the Jewish people aroused widespread denunciation in foreign lands. The protests from abroad were followed by more restrictive measures against the Jews in Germany."

Another book refers briefly to persecution without even intimating that anyone was arrested, imprisoned or killed:

> "He [Hitler] told them [the Germans] they had not been defeated but had been betrayed. He blamed everything on the Jews . . .
>
> "Everyone had to do as Hitler said. The Jews were terribly persecuted. Hitler claimed they were responsible for all of Germany's troubles and encouraged everyone to abuse them."

Two other American histories carry brevity to the extreme; each has only one reference to the topic:

1) "The Nazis imprisoned, tortured, killed, or drove from the country anyone who dared speak out against them. They were especially cruel to Jews, whom they blamed for all Germany's troubles."

2) "Most isolationists in the United States were sincere, patriotic Americans, but a few were not, especially German-American 'Bundists' who took their orders from Berlin. A few sympathized with Hitler's brutal attack upon the Jews."

A final example compresses the story into *one sentence,* with identification neither of the minority groups nor of their fate:

> "He [Hitler] shocked the American people by persecuting millions of people of his own country and of other countries."

The above passages make no mention of at least three of the five subtopics. The most frequent omissions deal with the range of brutal actions, the numbers killed, and the international consequences. Moreover, at least four of the seven criteria, *balance, comprehensiveness, unity,* and *realism,* are not satisfied.

World Histories . . . The books in this category do somewhat better than their counterparts in the areas of problems of American democracy or American history. Excluding the one designed exclusively for the study of ancient and medieval times, all 15 had some material on Nazi persecutions. Five were judged adequate, and excerpts from some of these appear earlier in this section (pages 25ff.). Five contained some helpful information but the remaining five were so incomplete as to be of little conceivable use.

From the weakest of these a reader could learn only this:

> Hitler "blamed the Jews for most of Germany's troubles" and "Hitler and the Nazis boasted of the superiority of the Aryan race,

and hounded the Jews out of places of prominence in business, the universities and the professions."

A second has only two pertinent references: one to Hitler's speeches against "the Jews, the Communists, the Weimar Constitution, and the Versailles Treaty"; the other to Protestant ministers and Catholic priests who, as opponents of Hitler's policies, were sent to concentration camps.

The third text refers twice, in passing, to persecution of the Jews, but concentrates detail and indignation on Hitler's treatment of organized Christianity. In the fourth world history one learns that Hitler preached hatred against capitalists, Communists, and especially the Jews; under Nazi rule the latter "were persecuted, and in some countries they were almost wiped out." The fifth of these accounts runs counter to the criterion, *concreteness,* by providing more editorializing than factual material; it also lacks *balance* and *comprehensiveness* by making the Jews appear the sole victims of persecution. The key sentences in this presentation are:

> "This 'Aryan superrace' idea led to frightful deeds. Jews were persecuted, dismissed from schools and government service, and not permitted to practice the professions. Later, when Hitler controlled all Europe, his Nazi officials cold-bloodedly murdered six million Jews! It is frightening to realize that civilized and well-educated people such as the Germans could believe in such principles and practice such cruelty . . ."

All 15 world histories dealing with Nazi persecution indicate its basis in anti-Semitism, scapegoating, or the theory of a German or Aryan super-race or master race. However, there is tremendous variation in how explicitly this matter is treated. At one extreme a text merely alludes to it by telling of Hitler's denunciation of Jews and others, describing their fate under Nazism, and — 63 pages later — speaking vaguely of "the strange theories of Hitler" that "contradicted most of the fundamental values of the Jewish-Christian tradition." Another book states that in the 1920's Hitler constantly attacked "the feebleness of the republic that tolerated the traitorous acts of Jews and Communists." By failing to evaluate this attack, and by linking Jews with Communists and with no other group, the authors may inadvertently reinforce anti-Semitic tendencies in the reader. At the other end of the spectrum is this account which not only includes other targets of Hitler's fanaticism but also debunks his racial myths:

> "He became an agitator, winning devoted followers by denouncing Communists, Jews, the German Republic, and the Treaty of Ver-

sailles. He adopted the fantastic theory of the 'pure' German or Nordic race, not knowing that there are no pure races, forgetting that only certain Germans could be rightly classed as 'Nordics,' and that he himself was certainly not one of them. Ignoring the most obvious facts, he attributed the loss of the war and the subsequent humiliations of Germany to the Jews."

Eleven of the 15 world histories contain some factual material on the various methods and stages of persecution. Three go into considerable detail and have already been quoted under the heading of "Adequate Accounts." The following three excerpts are typical of the eight accounts which tell very little about the things done to the Nazis' victims:

1) "Hitler persecuted German Jews without mercy . . . A non-Aryan was excluded from most of the rights of a German citizen, got less food and clothing if a shortage existed, and lived in constant fear for his property and his life. Ever so often, Nazi soldiers or police would march through the streets, stoning Jewish store fronts and beating up Jewish men, women, and children. Most of the property of wealthy Jews was seized and many Jews were sent to concentration camps, where they were starved or tortured until they died. During World War II, an estimated three million Jews, natives of Germany or of countries conquered by Hitler, were murdered."

2) ". . . he [Hitler] took away German citizenship from all persons of Jewish descent. They could no longer vote, hold office, edit newspapers, or hold positions in business and the professions. They could not even marry 'pure' Germans. Many Jews fled the country. Those who remained were subject to ill treatment and persecution. Then during World War II Hitler's government decided to do away with them. Millions of Jews, along with other prisoners, were sent to concentration camps and systematically and brutally murdered."

3) ". . . full rights of citizenship were denied to Jews and others not regarded as of true German or of 'Aryan' (Nordic) descent. Many Communists, Socialists, and Jews were deprived of their property, confined and brutally tortured in concentration camps, or executed. Many of the foremost German writers and scholars, including Thomas Mann, famous German novelist, and Albert Einstein, the world's most famous mathematician, were forced into exile."

What groups of people were specific targets of Nazi terror? All 15

world histories which discuss the matter name the Jews as victims. Two, in fact, are inadequate because they make it appear that only Jews were attacked in Germany and in the occupied countries. In contrast, the best world-history account identifies 11 categories of victims in the course of many sections. The median number of groups named in these 15 books is three: the Jews and two others, such as Christian clergymen, Communists, Socialists, and other opponents of the regime. As with other subtopics, the identity of the non-Jewish victims is likely to be vague. One text leaves the matter at this:

> "When the troops of the German army caught up with a fleeing population, the Nazis captured thousands of men and women and sent them to concentration camps . . . By the end of the war, some ten million persons had been moved from their homes."

How many lives were lost as a result of this Nazi persecution? Specifically, how many of the largest group of victims, European Jews, were killed? Seven of the 15 world histories give no answer whatsoever. Two others say "millions," and one says "three million." Only five, one-third of this sample, give the established figure of six million.

Finally, how do these books deal with the world's appraisal of Nazi brutality and with attempts to mete out justice for these atrocities and to prevent their recurrence by international agreement? Only one of the books in this group tells of the United Nations condemnation of genocide; it is, in fact, the only book which uses the term. Eight world histories make some reference to the Nuremberg War Crime Trials, but in half of these, the reference is inadequate in terms of the evaluative criteria specified earlier. In one, the relevant charge of "crimes against humanity" is mentioned without explanation. The authors, in fact, disparage the trials by stressing that the Soviet Union, itself with unclean hands, participated. In one sentence, another account drastically underestimates the death-camp toll by saying that "thousands" were mass-murdered there. A third glosses over the significance of Nuremberg with this statement: "here the awful stories of torture and mass murders were recounted." A fourth gives no more detail than that the trial and executions concerned, in part, "war crimes and atrocities."

In contrast, these four references are considerably better:

1) "As a result of the Moscow Conference of 1943 . . . the United States, Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R. agreed, also, that Nazis believed responsible for 'atrocities, massacres, and cold-blooded mass executions' would, after the Armistice, be tried for their crimes." Later at Nuremberg, Nazi leaders were "indicted for crimes against peace (such as aggressive war), war crimes (such

as murder of prisoners of war), and crimes against humanity (such as persecution on political, racial, or religious grounds)."

2) "The military occupation of Germany revealed to a shocked world the horrible picture of the German concentration camps . . . Careful investigation showed that the Nazis had followed a cold, systematic policy of mass murder and extermination, either by starvation or by more horrible methods. These revelations made the Allies even more determined to bring the 'war criminals' to trial and to make the entire German people realize their responsibility for the inhuman deeds of the Nazis."

3) "The victorious powers sought to 'denazify' Germany by exposing the inhuman barbarities of which Hitler and his subordinates had been guilty. A number of former Nazi officials were brought to trial for their 'crimes against humanity' and eleven were sentenced to death by a tribunal at Nuremberg."

4) "You will recall that Hitler blamed all of Germany's misfortunes on the Jews. After the war we learned that Hitler and his followers had killed some six million Jews — men, women, and even children. The evidence is clear; unfortunately it is no propaganda story . . . Proof of the atrocities is in the records of the war-guilt trials held at Nuremberg, Germany, after the war."

SUMMARY

The material in the present section can best be summarized in primarily quantitative terms:

A. Nine out of 48 textbooks analyzed give reasonably adequate presentations of Nazi persecution of minority groups. Only one of these fully meets the criteria established in this report. Twenty-two books slight, minimize, or gloss over important aspects of this topic. Seventeen texts omit it entirely.

B. The whole group was analyzed according to subject-matter field; the following observations were made:

1) Eleven out of 16 social-problems books omit the topic; four treat it inadequately. There is one adequate treatment.

2) Five out of 16 American histories omit this subject; nine deal with it inadequately. There are two satisfactory presentations.

3) Of 16 world histories, 15 cover the modern period. None omit the topic, but nine treat it inadequately and six present it satisfactorily.

C. The following subtopics receive the fullest and most frank treatment in the 15 world histories:

1) Hitler's racist theories (15 books)
2) the identity of his victims, including various groups of non-Jews (13 books)
3) the successive stages of brutality, culminating in mass murder (11 books)

These subtopics are most often neglected in these 15 accounts:

1) the number of victims (only five books specify the six million Jewish deaths)
2) the international reaction and consequences of the Nazi reign of terror (only four books include the Nuremberg War Crime Trials)

Based on these findings, it may be said that the great majority of textbooks do not serve the function that might be reasonably expected of them in this area: to present students with a basic overview of the topic of Nazi victimization and slaughter of vast numbers of innocent people. Much needs to be done by textbook authors and publishers to assure that American youth will know the implications of the swastika and will understand that Nazism, like Communism, is a subversive ideology with a total disregard for individual dignity or for human life itself.

III. Textbook Treatment of American Negroes

With some exceptions, the main criticisms of the American Council on Education report of 1949, as they relate to textbook treatment of the Negro, are equally valid for the year 1960. That report concluded that:

A. The average textbook ignored the Negroes' position in contemporary society.

B. Most references to Negroes were to the period before 1876 and pictured the members of this race as slaves and bewildered freedmen, thus perpetuating a stereotype of a childlike, inferior group of people.

C. There was a great lack of scientific data on the races of mankind.

D. Textbook illustrations of Negroes in American life were even more inadequate than the written material in these books.

Because most of these criticisms must be voiced again, the findings of the present study are reported within the framework of the above points.

A. *Position of Negroes in Contemporary Society*

Very little progress has been made since the late 1940's in this area. In fact, the cardinal weakness in present texts is a striking lack of any serious discussion of the American Negroes' current struggles and changing status. Of the 24 books evaluated in this portion of our study, three-quarters have at least some mention of Negroes. However, only one-half refer to the historic Supreme Court school desegregation decision of 1954 and, of these, very few discuss the reasoning behind the decision or the challenges involved in its implementation. Only two of the 24 books give an adequate indication of the continuous increase in integration. The subtopic of residential segregation is seldom touched, and one text actually takes a stand against the development of racially integrated neighborhoods. The whole question of racial inequality in the United States today is dealt with in very general and sometimes misleadingly complacent terms.

Thirteen out of 24 books omit reference to the position of Negroes in contemporary America. Of these, eight are world histories; however,

three of the eight American histories and, ironically enough, two of the eight social problems texts also eliminate this subject.

The contrasting quality of presentations is shown in the treatment of segregated versus interracial neighborhoods. Three of the 24 texts contain material on this subtopic. One of these volumes, a junior high school civics textbook, offers this bit of segregationist sentiment: "Very likely it is best that people of different races should not be forced to live where the differences between them might cause unpleasantness." Although set in a paragraph that pleads for interracial tolerance, understanding, and cooperation, this statement does not square with the criteria of *validity, balance,* and, even more, *concreteness* as defined in this report. In marked contrast are the other two accounts, also from junior high civics texts. These state, in part:

1) "Often the suburban communities have put restrictions in the deeds to lots in new developments which prevent their sale to Negroes, Jews, Orientals, and sometimes even South Europeans. This creates a class distinction contrary to our principle of equality of opportunity. It is a restriction on the freedom of American citizens. Some states have passed laws making such provisions illegal. Unfortunately, such laws have not always corrected the evil. Sometimes houses are not sold to Negroes, Orientals, or other groups against which there may be some prejudice. People moving into a certain area may promise not to sell to representatives of these groups should they decide to move."

2) *"There are restrictions on homes for some people.* Members of some races, religions, and nationalities find that some communities are closed to them . . . Our courts have decided that such restrictions or restrictive agreements are illegal . . . But they continue to exist, often not as written agreements but as 'gentlemen's agreements,' . . . But we are making progress. Some places where minority groups — Negroes, Jews, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, for example — were formerly banned are now unrestricted."

The latter account proceeds to sum up the case for gradualism versus aggressive legal action. The student is then asked for help in deciding how to solve the problem. In these two instances, as against the earlier citation, accurate information replaces a bigoted insinuation, fairminded weighing of such factors as ideals and current reality replaces an anxious stereotype, and factual details replace an unfounded generalization.

School desegregation, which has been making newspaper headlines

since 1954, is mentioned in only twelve books, and only four of these treat the matter in more than a passing, incidental fashion. And yet, in one of the latter, an American history, the entire presentation consists of this passage:

> "A number of states have always had separate schools for children of the white and the Negro races. In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States gave decisions upon certain cases concerning schools that were before the Court. The Court held that racial segregation (*separation*) in the public schools was not in agreement with the Constitution of the United States. Another decision of the Supreme Court placed the responsibility for ending segregation upon local school officials and the lower Federal courts. No date was set by the Supreme Court for ending segregation. These Supreme Court decisions created serious problems for states with segregated schools."

An even more abrupt ending occurs in a problems-of-democracy text, which never carries the story beyond this point:

> "The court has frequently been called upon to decide whether 'race' is a reasonable classification of people. In 1896 the Supreme Court said that requiring white and colored children to attend separate schools was not a violation of the 'equal protection' clause of the Fourteenth Amendment if the facilities were equal.
>
> "The Supreme Court decided in May, 1954, that segregated schools were in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment."

In failing to present the Court's reasoning as to the impossibility of educational facilities being both separate and equal and in ignoring the subsequent and current struggle over the implementation of this historic decision, such accounts as these violate the criteria of ***balance, concreteness,*** and ***realism.*** A more acceptable treatment is found in an American history text which devotes six paragraphs to public school desegregation. Excerpts from two of these paragraphs reflect the quality of this account:

> "The legal briefs presenting these appeals claimed that the fundamental issue was not the nature of the facilities provided for whites and Negroes, but the basic fact of segregation itself. These cases attacked head-on the 1896 doctrine of 'separate but equal facilities.' In a unanimous decision (May 17) the Supreme Court reversed the doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson and ruled that segregation itself violated the Fourteenth Amendment, arguing that 'sep-

arate educational facilities are inherently unequal.' . . . A year later the Court ruled that states and communities should comply with the decision 'within a reasonable time' . . .

"Some communities, including the District of Columbia, immediately began to plan for desegregation of their school systems. On the other hand, some states indicated that they would not comply with the decision. Some governors, senators, and representatives supported this defiance of the Supreme Court. They invoked the old doctrine of states' rights."

Later on, considerable attention is given to Governor Faubus' actions in Little Rock. All seven evaluative criteria are satisfied in this account.

The inadequacy of some presentations of overall current status, problems, and progress of this racial group can be judged from the following excerpts:

1) A junior-high civics text devotes *four paragraphs* to the history of Negroes in America, from 1619 to date, concluding with this paragraph:

"During the War Between the States, all Negro slaves were set free. Since then American Negroes have gone through a difficult period of adjustment to new ways of life. They have made remarkable progress in a short time. Today there are more than 15 million Negro Americans. That's why the Negro is sometimes called the one-in-ten American."

2) A senior-high American history devotes three paragraphs to the status of the Negro in the South after 1876; white supremacy and the color line are referred to in the past tense. These remarks close the discussion:

"The situation changed gradually. After World War II race relations improved noticeably."

3) Another senior-high American history, which deals squarely with the 1954 school desegregation decision, discusses other problems of Negro inequality only in the context of the years 1900-1914. Thus, we have a past-tense treatment of the fact that "the Negro Americans had not achieved equality with white Americans" and that in much of the South, despite the 15th Amendment:

". . . Negroes were not permitted to vote . . . lawmakers managed to find ways and means of preventing most Negroes from exercising their voting right.

"In both the North and the South, Negroes were forced to live in sections set apart for them. Many places of entertainment and most eating places and hotels refused to serve them."

4) A social-problems text gives the impression that a bothersome problem of old has reached a happy ending:

"Your study of history has already told you the problems that were created by the bringing here of many Negroes as slaves. You have also learned that when those slaves were set free, the change was so sudden that it was not easy for those who had been either slaves or masters to adjust themselves to the new conditions.

"The work of such schools as that of Tuskegee, Alabama, founded by Booker T. Washington, has done much to help the Negroes to help themselves. Poets, musicians, lawyers, doctors, and skilled tradesmen have arisen among the Negro people of whom we are all proud."

5) Another social-problems book observes that if all men had followed the plan of Thomas Jefferson for freeing all the slaves, America might have prevented:

"the War Between the States and many of the problems which the Negroes have had to face since they were freed.

"Some of our citizens in certain parts of the country still do not enjoy an equal opportunity for liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This is one of the unfinished tasks of our democracy started back in 1776. But progress is being made by each new generation of Americans."

Satisfactory accounts are found in only four books: three social-problems texts and one American history. These come to grips factually and realistically with aspects of the Negroes' ongoing struggle for equal rights. Of the three social-problems texts, one spends much of a chapter on the topic of job discrimination. Another details the efforts of some states in improving interracial relations and discusses integrating housing, transportation, and public parks. The third is helpful on Negro suffrage and restrictive covenants in housing. Most comprehensive is an American history devoting over five pages to civil rights and desegregation in the 1940's and 1950's. It deals successively with: a) the civil rights legislation proposed by Truman's 1947 committee on minority-group problems; b) fair employment practices committees — first, under President Roosevelt and, then, in New York state; c) the effective Southern senatorial filibusters against Truman's civil rights bills; d) progress in elimination

of state poll taxes and in integrating labor unions, the armed forces, and public housing; e) favorable Supreme Court decisions regarding restrictive covenants, state primary elections, railroad dining cars, etc.; f) the evolution of Supreme Court rulings on discrimination in public education from 1896 to 1954; g) the reasoning behind the 1954 ruling and constructive and destructive efforts in complying with it; h) the Little Rock crisis; i) the relation of desegregation to defeat of federal aid to education; j) the growing importance of the civil rights issue to America both internally and in international relations.

B. *Historical Stereotype of a Simple, Backward People*

Despite a growing need for students to understand the role of Negro Americans in our increasingly integrated nation, textbooks continue to present a picture of this group primarily as slaves and as inexperienced, exploited, ignorant freedmen. Few texts make an effort to redress this imbalance by carrying the story into the present century. Even where some material appears on post-1876 progress and contributions of Negroes, it is usually insufficient in scope and depth to counteract the textbook stereotype of a simple, inferior people.

Specifically, twelve of the 18 books that mention the American Negro in this sampling of 24 deal with the period before 1876. Seven of the eight American histories do so to the virtual exclusion of later periods. The impression left with the reader is that Negroes in America have always been, and thus presumably are now, a simple, backward people. This image is especially reinforced by the depiction of the freedmen of the Reconstruction Period.

For example, one American history uses the term "superstitious" in describing Negro victims of the post-Civil-War Ku Klux Klan. Another describes the Klan's methods as frequently effective in arousing "the superstitions of the uneducated Negroes." Yet another states that, under Klan control, whippings were administered to "unruly Negroes." An unbalanced concept of late nineteenth century Negro [illegible] another account:

> "By the Reconstruction Act, men who only a few brief years before had labored as slaves were enabled to vote and hold office. Many of them could neither read nor write, and did not understand the workings of government. Therefore, they became easy victims of selfish white men who sought to gain control of the southern government."

An American history projects an unfavorable impression in saying that the Black Codes:

". . . contained restrictions intended to keep Negroes from becoming tramps and wanderers and to force them to work. At the time the restrictions were probably necessary, for many of the freed slaves thought they no longer had to work."

All but one American history deplore the "carpetbag governments" as corrupt, extravagant, and incompetent. Thus, they prepare the reader to see justice in Negro disenfranchisement when, as one text states: "in time the responsible Southern people gained control of the state governments." All the accounts just cited run counter to the criterion termed *balance;* many violate the criteria of *validity, comprehensiveness, concreteness, unity,* and *realism* as well.

Judged by these criteria, only two accounts deal satisfactorily with Negroes in the Reconstruction Period and earlier. One senior-high American history reflects more recent scholarship in explaining these aspects of the Reconstructionist state legislatures: (1) corruption in "carpetbag" government came at a time when most government bodies in *all* parts of the United States were notoriously corrupt; (2) many carpetbaggers, including teachers, ministers, and businessmen, were men of good will; and (3) the legislatures in question, though wasteful, effected many important reforms and initiated many useful projects.

One junior-high American history, in six paragraphs on *The Negro in America,* before the Civil War, stands alone in presenting these facts: (1) Negroes came to these shores with groups of explorers and as indentured servants before any came as slaves; (2) nearly a half million Negroes in 1860 were not slaves; (3) of 18,000 free Negroes in New Orleans in 1860, despite grave handicaps, "many of them earned an honest living,' "owned property," and "were worthy men and women"; and (4) slaves from Africa "had known a certain degree of civilization in their native villages" and brought with them a way of living and a memory of freedom that erupted in outbreaks against slavery. What emerges from such a presentation is a fairer, more positive, more diversified picture of Negroes in early American life.

An opportunity to present a positive image of contemporary Negro Americans by spotlighting outstanding living individuals of that race is ignored by most textbooks. This omission conveys a mental picture of a country whose leaders and other celebrities are all Caucasian; thus, the standard of *balance* is not met. Only six of the 24 books mention the names of one or more contemporary Americans who are identifiable as Negroes. And among these, one refers solely to a baseball player and one solely to two prizefighters. On the other hand, *balance, concreteness,* and *realism* are served by the treatment of Ralph Bunche in two other texts. A world history, which mentions that he is the "grandson of a slave,"

credits Bunche with arranging the Arab-Israeli armistice and with being the recipient of the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize. One photograph in this text shows him with Eleanor Roosevelt and Trygve Lie; a second, on the same page, with Ben-Gurion. A problems-of-American-democracy book also contains a photograph with this caption: "A member of the Wa-Meru tribe in Central Africa discusses with Dr. Ralph Bunche the minority complaint he has just presented to the U.N. Trusteeship Council, guardians of colonials." In discussing job discrimination in the United States, this same text states:

> "It was this and other kinds of intolerance that Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, eminent Negro statesman and Nobel Prize winner, was referring to in a speech. He reminded his listeners that within the borders of many of the members of the United Nations (including this country) minority groups continue to suffer the indignities and deprivations of second-class citizenship, prejudice, discrimination, and economic underprivilege."

Unfortunately, the five texts that enter the promising area of Negro contributions to American history sometimes handle it in a way that perpetuates stereotypes. For example, a junior-high civics text contains a map entitled "Contributions of American Industry and Culture." On the map are cartooned figures, some with captions, to show what each group gave to America. The English are given credit for "law and order," the Irish as "public servants," the Germans for orchestras and mid-western farming. The three depictions of Negroes, all placed in the South, show them picking cotton, singing spirituals, and driving a wagon-load of tobacco. The contribution most frequently attributed to Negroes in these texts is original music: jazz, work songs, and especially spirituals. Such presentations do not meet the specified criteria of *balance* and *comprehensiveness.*

The criterion of *inclusion* is most frequently violated on the matter of historical contributions by Negroes. Only 10 of the 24 texts identify even one Negro leader in our nation's history, and only six of these do so for contemporary Negroes. The extent of omission is evidenced by the fact that only two texts mention the role of a Negro, Crispus Attucks, in fighting for American independence. That this is an integral part of the American story is clear to the reader of either of these books. One devotes two paragraphs to his life, stressing his leadership of the colonists who fought the British in the Boston Massacre. Another places his portrait on the page headed *Patriots from many lands helped in America's struggle for independence.* A caption explains that Attucks, "a Negro of Massachusetts, was the first to die for American liberty."

The seven evaluative criteria are satisfied by only one presentation of this subtopic of contributions, leadership, and other outstanding performance by American Negroes. This material, a section in a junior-high American history, provides a constructive counterweight to the usual overemphasis on the pre-1876 period:

> *"Negroes make important contributions.* The road of the Negro in this country has not been an easy one. Upon entering citizenship, most Negroes were very poor and had little or no education. But they have achieved wonders against great odds. Today there are many Negro doctors, lawyers, teachers, artists, actors, and business leaders. They have founded banks, insurance companies, and other businesses. Tuskegee Institute, in Alabama, one of our many Negro colleges, was founded by a famous Negro, Booker T. Washington. He was one of the most interesting examples we have of an American who had won success in spite of difficulties and hardship. The story of his life is told in the famous book, *Up From Slavery.*
>
> "Negroes have become famous in many fields. Paul Laurence Dunbar was a poet who tried in his verses to explain the true nature of his people. Countee Cullen was another famous Negro poet. Frederick Douglass, born a slave, was not only a famous orator, but wrote the story of his life in a splendid book, *My Bondage and My Freedom.* George Washington Carver was considered one of the outstanding scientists of his time. Ralph J. Bunche has won fame for settling differences between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine, and for other peace efforts. Every American today knows of Roland Hayes and Marian Anderson, great Negro singers. Indeed, Negroes have given America its most characteristic music — Negro spirituals and jazz. There are many famous Negro jazz players and orchestra leaders: Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, and Cab Calloway.
>
> "Some of the best athletes in America have been Negroes. These include Joe Louis, for many years the great heavyweight champion; Jesse Owens, one of the brightest stars of the 1936 Olympic Games; and Jackie Robinson, first Negro to play big-league baseball."

The page containing this account also has a photograph of George Washington Carver. He is identified in the caption as "an important botanist and chemist" who "made many contributions to better methods of farming before his death in 1943." Whether or not the reader agrees with the particular fields and individuals selected, positive material that is this extensive clearly deserves a place in more than one out of 24 second-

ary school social studies textbooks used in our pluralistic, interracial nation.

C. *The Nature of Race*

The scientific facts about race rarely appear in social studies textbooks. Experts in intergroup relations have repeatedly stated that such facts can help to dispel the notion that the Negro race is inherently inferior. Adequate knowledge about this matter is relevant, they say, to competent performance as a citizen. Nevertheless, in 19 of the 24 texts studied, there is no discussion whatsoever of the origin and nature of racial groups. This subject is omitted in all eight American histories, the category of books that most consistently contains material on Negro Americans. Only one of the eight social-problems texts deals with race as such; this reference briefly explains the physical characteristics of three main races. Four of the eight world histories have no material on race. Of those that do, the most extensive treatment, a total of three paragraphs, does not mention that there is no innate racial difference in intelligence, aptitudes, and personality. Thus, every one of the 24 textbooks neglects the opportunity to show that both Negroes and Caucasians have the same inherent potential. On the nature of race, the criterion of *inclusion* is met by only 5 of the 24 textbooks examined. And of these five, the only one to approach *comprehensiveness* in its treatment does not retain this statement in its revision of 1960:

> "It is well to remember . . . that all the so-called races are a great mixture and that they overlap. Only fanatics (like Hitler) believe there is such a thing as a 'pure race.' All the people in the world today belong to one great race, the human race." (1956 edition)

D. *Interracial Illustrations of American Life*

On the whole, textbook illustrations do not reflect an increasingly integrated, interracial American society. No photograph of Negro and white Americans together in any situation is to be found in the eight American histories. Among the eight world histories, only one contains interracial photographs: Ralph Bunche is shown with Eleanor Roosevelt and Trygve Lie and again with Ben-Gurion.

Only two of the eight social-problems texts include similar illustrations. One has only one such photograph, a Negro child receiving a Salk vaccine innoculation from a white nurse. The other is unique in that it shows American Negroes and whites mixed as peers in four situations: a crowd scene, a local community planning council, boys playing stickball in the East Harlem section of New York City, and a group of churchmen at a meeting of the World Council of Churches. The caption on the latter

photograph, "Here there are no minorities — only equals," reflects a positive intent.

A few books have photographs of Negro leaders (George Washington Carver, Ralph Bunche, Jackie Robinson). One American history shows a group of Negro freedmen in a classroom at Atlanta University. Otherwise, the illustrations which abound in the 24 textbooks give a false illusion of an all-white America.

SUMMARY

When compared against the findings of the 1949 report, the treatment of American Negroes in 24 secondary school social studies textbooks in 1960 bears these characteristics:

A. The Negroes' position in contemporary American society continues to be very largely ignored. There is a tendency to treat racial inequality and attempts at its eradication with complacent generalizations, not hard facts. In most cases, the presentation of the 1954 Supreme Court decision on public school desegregation bypasses any consideration of the underlying principles and of the subsequent, ongoing attempts at both compliance and evasion. The achievements of living Negro Americans are mentioned in only a small minority of books. Residential segregation by race is seldom discussed.

B. Historically, American Negroes continue to be portrayed primarily as simple, childlike slaves and as uneducated, bewildered freedmen. Most textbooks do not chronicle the achievements of this people in the years from 1876 to the present. Where attention is given to outstanding Negroes in American history, the presentation is insufficient to counterbalance the previously created stereotype of a racially inferior group.

C. The scientific knowledge underlying sound understanding of the basic similarity and equality of the races of mankind is absent from the great majority of the textbooks.

D. With few exceptions, photographs and other illustrations in textbooks continue to portray America as an all-white nation, not as an interracial and increasingly integrated one.

IV. Textbook Treatment of Immigrants

The American Council on Education study of 1949 made the following observations concerning textbook treatment of immigrants. While some texts had excellent accounts of such groups and most texts listed their contributions, these aspects of the presentations were objectionable:

A. The so-called "new" immigrants — those arriving from Southern and Eastern Europe, especially after 1880 — were usually referred to in negative terms, such as "hordes," "swarms," and "problems."

B. The treatment of successive laws that restricted immigration was such as to arouse negative feelings in the reader and to prejudice him against immigrants in general.

C. Asiatic minorities, such as those of Chinese and Japanese origin or descent, were frequently presented in a manner that implied they were racially inferior. Offensive generalizations were applied to such groups, and positive material about their current status and contributions was omitted.

D. The Spanish-speaking peoples of the United States were generally ignored; sometimes they were dealt with in terms likely to intensify prevalent stereotypes.

E. In general, immigrant groups were treated as "out-groups" rather than "in-groups" and were referred to in patronizing terms.

In the current examination of this problem, we were specifically concerned with these negative criticisms and how they are met in the newest texts. On the whole, our sampling of 24 textbooks showed a great improvement.

A. *The "New" Immigrants*

With few exceptions, the deficiencies in text presentations cited in 1949 have been corrected. Many books give a more sympathetic portrayal of all the major waves of immigration. The problems immigrants met in their adopted country and the reasons for hostility toward some groups are discussed frankly and fairly; the contributions of some of the newcomers and of their descendants are highlighted. Such terms as

"hordes" and "swarms" have been replaced by words like "many," "waves," and "streams." Thus, accounts of the post-1880 European influx are more favorable than was previously so.

Of the 24 books analyzed, 21 deal with immigration to the United States and 15 of these include what some call the "new" immigrants. Four texts in this group still give a somewhat unfriendly and rejecting treatment to these people. One does so by stressing differences and condoning prejudice in these words:

> "The 'new' had quite different backgrounds from those of the 'old' immigrants, who by this time were established Americans. And they often found it necessary to settle in the growing industrial cities, where they were likely to hold on to their own languages and customs, especially because they chose neighborhoods where others from their homeland lived. It's easy to see why many of the older inhabitants were slow to accept the newcomers and to regard them as 'foreigners' even after they had lived in the United States many years."

The other three books give this group of newcomers an out-group status by using the first person plural pronoun to apply to all other Americans. For example, one high-school American history states that earlier immigrants found it easier to adjust because the customs of Northern and Western Europe are similar to *ours*. The other American history text also finds that immigrants from the British Isles and Germany "were much like the people already living here and quickly fitted into *our* ways." And the same effect is achieved by a text which adds to its comments on the ghetto-like life of the newcomers in cities: "Native-born Americans were suspicious of the immigrants' strange customs." All four excerpts violate our established criterion of *validity* by creating an impression of people who were strange, different, and unlike previous newcomers to America. These quotations also fall short when measured against our criteria of *balance, comprehensiveness* and *concreteness.*

However, more typical of the type of depiction found today is the social-problems text that outlines differences between the "new" immigrants and their predecessors, but emphasizes their contributions as laborers, artists, musicians, scientists, and patriotic citizens. Under such headings as "America owes much to its people of 'foreign' stock" and "Contributions of immigrants," most of these books speak in glowing terms of the accomplishments of Americans from Southern and Eastern Europe as well as elsewhere.

Instead of the old "out-group" approach, this paragraph from a junior-high American history gives fair treatment to all groups:

> *"Immigration from southern and eastern Europe helps America to become a great industrial nation* . . . Unlike the earlier immigrants who took up farming, most of the immigrants from southern and eastern Europe found jobs in the mines and factories . . . Workers by the millions were needed to do the thousand and one back-breaking jobs that industry requires . . . the newer immigrants supplied the muscle and the sweat that made the United States an industrial giant . . . Many of them entered business and aided in the great commercial development of the United States."

Another junior-high American history completely eliminates the terms "old" and "new" in referring to immigrants. A discussion of European arrivals in the years 1885 to 1914 gives a realistic picture of the many occupations of one of these groups, the Italians:

> "This stream of immigration was large because people were needed to work in factories. The growing cities also provided many jobs for immigrants. The Italians found work digging subways, paving streets, laying water and gas mains, and as factory workers. Many of them practiced in the United States the trades they had learned in Italy. They found jobs as barbers, shoe repairmen, tailors, stonemasons, and marble workers. Some also became farmers. Many Italians grew vegetables and fruit for the city markets. Italians formed agricultural colonies in the North Atlantic states and in California."

Although these presentations do not bring the reader up to date on the still wider range of vocations of succeeding generations, the approach in each case satisfies the seven evaluative criteria previously outlined.

B. *Restrictions on Immigration*

Here again, 15 of the 24 texts analyzed dealt with this aspect of immigration. Of these, three books lack *validity* and *balance* in the one-sided approach to the subject of immigration laws as exemplified by these excerpts:

1) ". . . the general feeling was that too many immigrants were allowed to come to America . . . The first laws showed considerable favoritism to the nationalities of the old immigration. It was perfectly natural: the nationalities of the old immigration were by this time pretty well settled and had become a part of America. The 'new' immigrants hadn't had time yet to become a part of America."

2) "The truth is that America cannot possibly absorb all — or even many — of the unfortunate in the world who wish to come

here; we might wreck our own economic system in the process."

3) *"Immigrants are blamed for social evils.* Beginning in the 1870's there were objections raised in this country against the immigrants. Patriotic societies began to protest the admission of so many foreign elements to the 'melting pot.' They urged restriction of immigration to America. The foreign born were blamed for the increase in crime in their sections of the great cities. If the newcomers were at fault, it was owing in part to their ignorance of American laws and ways of life, in part to the fact that bad housing and poverty often led to crime."

It is beyond the scope of this report to suggest improvements for specific textbook accounts that are found to be inadequate. However, for example number 3, one suggestion may illustrate a positive approach. Instead of repeating the allegation that links immigrants to crime, the authors could have cited an authoritative source, such as ex-President Hoover's National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (as another textbook does) to show that "in proportion to their respective numbers, the foreign-born commit considerably fewer crimes than the native born."

A more *valid* and *balanced* approach to the subtopic of immigration restrictions comes through in many books. One junior-high American history introduces the discussion in this way:

"Immigrants are disliked by some Americans. It is unfortunate but true that immigrants were often received in an unfriendly way by older Americans. Some people dislike anybody or anything which seems strange to them . . ."

A senior-high American history puts the matter in this perspective:

"The clamor for restrictions on immigration continued to mount. Many groups, forgetting that all Americans — even those of American Indian stock — are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, began urging the government to close the door, at least part way, to newcomers."

A world history quotes a nineteenth century song to illustrate America's traditional hospitality to immigrants: "Here's a general invitation to the people of the world . . ."

An American history observes: "It is strange that almost from the beginning of our nation, there have been people who feared and hated newcomers." Later, in discussing the reduced immigration of the 1940's

it asks its high-school readers: "Could our country do without the constant stream of new peoples, ideas, and dreams that had helped make it great?"

C. *Immigrants from Asia*

Many books have an improved approach to the subtopics of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe and immigration restrictions. Unfortunately, this does not extend to the treatment of Americans of Asiatic origin or descent. Not one book among the 24 contain a diversified, balanced portrayal of Chinese Americans or Japanese Americans. Characteristics such as the strong family unit, reverence for tradition, low rates of juvenile delinquency and crime, and industriousness of many members of this group continue to go unmentioned. Instead, a sense of racial inferiority pervades American history accounts of cheap labor, starvation wages, and popular demand for restriction or exclusion in the late nineteenth century. In terms of occupation, the first Chinese railroad laborers and the later laundrymen and cooks are given no contemporary successors, such as engineers, teachers, doctors, and businessmen.

The reader of social-problems texts might never guess that any Americans of Asiatic descent have become part of the mainstream of American life. One high school textbook goes to the extreme of claiming a voluntary non-assimilation of these apparent out-groups. Under the heading: "Islands of Foreign Culture," this book's co-authors complain:

> "Actually, the cultures of many of the alien groups in this country represent more the remolded traditions of their mother country than an acceptance of American life and culture. What is true of the Japanese is true of most of the Orientals . . . those who bring with them their own ideas of government, their own economic practices, and their own language merely maintain small islands of foreign culture on our soil. They cause innumerable social problems."

Another American-problems text refers to differences in race, standard of living, and culture of "Oriental immigration" and states that "racial difficulties" led to the restriction of both Japanese and Chinese immigration. As in the above excerpt, this obvious out-group treatment violates the specified standards of *validity, balance, comprehensiveness,* and *concreteness.*

However, in American history accounts of immigrants from Asia, especially from China, self-segregation and race differences are less often discussed than economic competition. Because this factor is not counterbalanced with positive information about these people either then or now, the impression is created of a flood of justly-resented, "cut-rate-

labor" intruders. Readers are told that "the Chinese coolies . . . worked for starvation wages and lived under conditions that Americans would not endure." Another text reports that "they were bitterly condemned by white laborers who believed that the cheap labor caused generally low wages." The following explanation is more concrete than the above citations, but tends to reinforce an outdated stereotype through lack of *balance* and *comprehensiveness:*

> "The Chinese found jobs as cooks and laundrymen, and they also helped build the railroad lines . . . Because the Chinese had been brought up in the terrible poverty of their own country, they were willing to work for wages on which an American family could not live. Because the Chinese worked for low wages, the American workers objected to further Chinese immigration. For the same reasons Americans also objected to Japanese immigration."

A more positive and balanced picture is suggested in one junior-high American history, but a promising start ends too soon:

> *"The Chinese settle in the cities.* In the middle of the 1800's, Chinese began to come to the United States in large numbers. Most of the early Chinese immigrants settled in the cities around San Francisco Bay. In the 1860's, large numbers of them helped to build the Central Pacific Railroad across the Rocky Mountains. At present, however, most Americans of Chinese descent live in cities. The largest number is in San Francisco and nearby cities. Other large groups live in New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago."

The matter is dropped at this point and attention shifts to other nationality groups that fit the chapter title of *People from Many Lands Build America.* A few sentences more on the variety of occupations and contributions of Chinese Americans over the years could bring forth an accurate, diversified image of this group as it exists in this century.

Encouraging examples of positive — and even provocative — inter-group material on Japanese Americans appear in two American history texts. One expresses indignation that during World War II about 110,000 "Nisei" were confined in internment camps "because their whole 'race' was under suspicion." This the authors condemn as a "totalitarian practice," unworthy of America and akin to the actions of our Axis enemies of the time. The other text, on the junior-high level, devotes three graphic paragraphs to an incident on the Italian Front in World War II. This narrative stresses the admiration of one American regiment for the Japanese American soldiers who comprise a fellow regiment and the formal pledge of the former to work for true equality for

the latter in American life after the war. The reader is reminded of prejudice against Japanese Americans and of the long-overdue justice of helping them obtain the same rights and privileges as other citizens. *Balance* and *realism* are well illustrated in these instances. However, in terms of factual information, neither these two texts nor any of the 22 others give "equal treatment" to Americans of Asiatic origin as compared with that accorded to other groups in the United States.

D. *Spanish-Speaking Peoples*

The Spanish-speaking population — both Mexican immigrants and migrants from Puerto Rico to the mainland — are also neglected in most texts. Only eight of the 24 books examined mention either one or both of these groups. In six of the eight, the reference is to Mexican immigrants; in five, some information about Puerto Ricans is included. No book contains more than a paragraph about either of these peoples. And in only one case, that of a junior-high-school civics book, is there an "in-group" tone:

> "Mexico, a neighbor to the south, has sent us immigrants for a long time. The earliest of these migrated from Mexico to the American Southwest. Before that they had come to Mexico from old Spain. These early Spanish-speaking peoples established a Spanish culture wherever they settled. For about two hundred years following the earliest settlements, migrations were small. Then, about 1910, as our need for farm laborers increased, Spanish-speaking people began to come over the border from Mexico in greater numbers. Our Spanish-speaking people live mainly in California, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico."

Seven of the references to these groups, though brief, are purely factual, but the following three are so lacking in *balance* and *comprehensiveness* as to create or reinforce an unfavorable stereotype:

1) A comment in an American history text that many of the Puerto Ricans who come to the United States are "poor and untrained" and solely Spanish-speaking, and that "they create problems for cities where they settle."

2) A photograph caption in a junior high civics text that refers to Mexican agricultural workers as "of foreign birth" and "mainly transients."

3) A statement in a high school social-problems text calling Mexican immigrants "wetbacks" and stressing their illegal entry, low wages, and substandard living conditions.

Thus, only a third of the texts mention Spanish-speaking immigrants and migrants, and several of these books do so in a manner that leaves the reader with a narrow, one-sided, negative impression. With the one exception given above, information on the positive attributes and contributions of these people is not presented.

E. *"Out-groups" and "In-groups"*

Passages cited in the previous sections of this chapter indicate contrasting premises as to whether newcomers to America are "those foreigners" or are an integral part of our nation's richly varied population. By way of a reminder, some examples are presented again to underline this dichotomy between the image of an established, perhaps even homogeneous, nation defending itself against objectionable intruders and that of a dynamic, pluralistic society made ever greater by the very process of admixture that has existed since its beginning.

The negative approach to immigrant groups is apparent in the following statements:

1) Unlike the later immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, immigrants from the British Isles and Germany "were much like the people already living here and quickly fitted into our ways."

2) "Native-born Americans were suspicious of the immigrants' strange customs."

3) ". . . the general feeling was that too many immigrants were allowed to come to America."

4) "Actually, the culture of many of the alien groups of this country represent more the remolded traditions of their mother country than an acceptance of American life and culture . . . those who bring with them their own ideas of government, their own economic practices, and their own language merely maintain small islands of foreign culture on our soil."

In these examples of "out-group" treatment, the difficulty is not one of total absence of *validity* or *realism,* but rather the lack of *balance* and *comprehensiveness.*

A so-called "in-group" approach serves to redress such imbalance and supply a needed sense of diversity. These excerpts from three texts in the fields of American history and civics are good illustrations of such treatment:

1) "The United States is a nation of many races, religions, cultures, and national groups. And each race, each religion, each culture,

and each national group has something to give to America. It is the weaving together of these many gifts that has made the rich and varied pattern that we call the American way of life."

2) "The plain fact of the matter is that the United States is a nation of Americans from many countries . . . all varieties of Americans have something to contribute to our democracy. Our culture is made of many selective component parts. We are a nation of many nations."

3) "[Hitler] ridiculed America because it had a mixed population of all races and all nationalities. To Americans, however, this is one of our strengths, not a weakness. In our 'melting pot of nations,' America has blended the best features of people from all over the world. Dorothy Thompson, a newspaper writer, had that in mind when she wrote: 'What is an American? — An American is a fellow whose grandfather was a German forty-eighter who settled in Wisconsin and married a Swede, whose mother's father married an Englishwoman, whose son met a girl at college whose mother was an Austrian and whose father was a Hungarian Jew, and their son in the twentieth century right now is six feet tall and goes to a state college, plays football, and can't speak a word of any language except American.' "

SUMMARY

Within the framework of the 1949 A.C.E. findings, the treatment of American immigrants in 24 popular social studies textbooks can be summarized as follows:

A. A more sympathetic portrayal is generally accorded to post-1880 immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. Very few texts continue to disparage these later arrivals vis-à-vis earlier groups from Northern and Western Europe. Several books present not only the difficulties faced by immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but also their contributions to an emerging American society and culture.

B. The restrictions placed on immigration, particularly in the first quarter of the present century, are now seldom described in a way that places an onus on the immigrant. Instead, several textbooks stress America's traditional hospitality to the newcomer; a few also indicate the economic selfishness and/or purely bigoted nature of opposition to immigration.

C. There is virtually no improvement in textbook treatment of the

Asiatic immigrant. Rather than reporting the achievements, varied characteristics, and current status of Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans, textbooks continue to deal with these people solely as of fifty to eighty years ago and largely as strange, unassimilable outsiders presenting a threat to the living standard of native Americans.

D. Very little attention is paid to America's increasingly significant Spanish-speaking immigrant and migrant groups. Virtually nothing favorable is said about these peoples; in several cases, negative stereotypes of them are still presented.

E. Although a few textbooks continue to refer to immigrants in a patronizing way and as outsiders, more accounts reflect a realization that the United States has been strengthened by the richly diversified heritage of our pluralistic citizenry.

Conclusion

This study was designed to determine the nature of progress in textbook treatment of certain topics in intergroup relations since the publication of *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials,* a comprehensive study of the problem published by the American Council on Education in 1949.

The current report is based on findings from 48 leading American junior and senior high school textbooks in the area of social studies. All 48 were analyzed for their presentations on the topics of Jews and Nazi persecutions of minorities, respectively. Twenty-four were selected in order to study portrayal of American Negroes and treatment of American immigrants and migrant groups. We have tried to illustrate the range of quality in textual treatment of these four areas by presenting relevant excerpts from the texts themselves.

Although there has been marked, but very uneven improvement in intergroup relations content since 1949, only a few books within each subject-area category (i.e., American history, world history, problems of American democracy) give a realistic and constructive portrayal of certain minority groups. No one book gives an adequate presentation of all four topics covered by this report.

A majority of the texts still present a largely white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon view of history and of the current social scene. The nature and problems of minority groups in America are still very largely neglected.

I. *Treatment of the Jews continues to suffer from an overemphasis on their ancient past and on the theme of persecution.* Textbook accounts of the Crucifixion seldom involve Jews in the potentially harmful manner of older books; however, they are still too superficial to dispel misconceptions that may underlie some feelings of anti-Semitism. Much space is given to democracy's heritage from the ancient Hebrews and to the progress of the state of Israel. Jews are no longer referred to as a "race." Few texts present a varied, true-to-life picture of Jews in America today. Only a few describe past and present participation by Americans of Jewish faith and/or descent in the many phases of our national life in adequate manner.

II. *Nazi persecutions of minority groups are inadequately treated.* Approximately one-third of the 48 texts omit the topic entirely. More than three-quarters of them slight or minimize what the Nazis did to their victims. Several texts in the subject area of world history have excellent material on some aspect of the problem: Hitler's racist theories, the identity — both Jewish and non-Jewish — of his victims, the successive stages of brutality that culminated in mass murder. On the other hand, the number of victims or the international reaction and consequences of the Nazi assault on innocent people seldom get adequate space or fair presentation.

III. *The Negroes' position in contemporary American society is very largely ignored.* Textbook treatment of racial inequality, and attempts at its eradication, consists more of complacent generalizations than hard facts. In most cases, the 1954 Supreme Court decision on public school desegregation is presented without any consideration of the underlying principles and of the subsequent, ongoing attempts at compliance and evasion. The achievements of living Negro Americans are mentioned in very few books. Residential segregation by race is seldom discussed. American Negroes are portrayed, for the most part, in the eras of slavery and of Reconstruction. What comes through in most books is a stereotype of a simple, child-like, superstitious people. Neither scientific information about race nor historical data about the achievements of Negro Americans is utilized by the average book to give the reader a more valid perspective. With extremely few exceptions, photographs and other illustrations continue to show an all-white America, not an interracial and increasingly integrated nation.

IV. *Immigrants to the continental United States receive considerable attention in American history and social-problems texts.* A more sympathetic portrayal is generally accorded to the post-1880 immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe than was reported in 1949. Similarly, the history of restrictive legislation is now seldom couched in terms that place an onus on the immigrant. But there is virtually no improvement in textbook treatment of the Asiatic immigrant, who is still shown, in most cases, as a strange, unassimilable outsider presenting a threat to the living standard of native Americans. Little attention is paid to America's increasingly significant Spanish-speaking immigrant and migrant groups. Little is said in favor of these groups; in several cases, negative stereotypes are still presented. A few textbooks continue to refer to all groups of immigrants as outsiders, but more accounts now reflect the realization that the United States is made better by the richly diversified heritage of its pluralistic citizenry.

* * *

It is hoped that this report will help school systems, authors and publishers to work towards rapid improvement in those areas of inter-group relations that are still neglected or given inadequate treatment. Accurate presentations that reflect a changing America and the pluralistic nature of our society are necessary for a proper understanding of our country's history and development. And thorough and scholarly accounts of the world's experience with group hatred, persecution and discrimination cannot help but be a positive educative experience for American youth.

Appendix

THE 48 SECONDARY-SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS USED IN THIS REPORT

Most of the forty-eight textbooks used for this report were in the collection of the Curriculum Bureau of the New York City Board of Education as of February 1, 1960. Other sources used were the Hunter College Teachers' Central Laboratory and the Teachers' College of Columbia University Curriculum Library.

In the intervening year between the inception of research and the preparation of the final manuscript, several of these texts have undergone complete or partial revision. Because of the nature of the publishing industry, it is to be expected that other books are undergoing revision and will appear before publication of this report or shortly thereafter. The present study has incorporated and noted significant changes in the revised editions available as of January, 1961.

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